

RECONSTRUCTION OF LIFE AND POLITY IN KATHIAWAR STATES

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PREFACE.

The problems of reconstruction are facing us on all sides. Here is an effort to place before all concerned the picture of a polity that might suit Kathiawar in its own sphere and be capable of regional expansion on lines of linguistic as well as economic co-operation. Its *raison de etre* has been worked out from the positive needs of the new order as well as the shortcomings of the present system of administration which stands afflicted by the outdated and unserviceable polity of the 19th century, now in a definite stage of revision. In fact the widespread disorders in rural areas and the prevailing confusion and corruption in administration, are largely the product of this aged polity which itself lies overpowered under the stress and strain of new conditions. Political reconstruction and administrative reform thus go hand in hand.

To the people, this monograph purports to present a comprehensive view of our social, economic and political problems which have been examined in broad outline with constructive suggestions for reform.

The youth must now turn more and more to constructive activities, and the present endeavour proposes to inform him in our present day problems with a flying, general and historical perspective of the political landscape.

In a constructive study of an involved polity, the good or weak points of individual states do not come in for special mention or for criticism, and policy stands lifted above personality. Invidious distinctions are thus avoided and the way paved towards a dispassionate appreciation of the points of view presented in the discussion.

I take this opportunity of acknowledging the valuable assistance rendered to me by Prof. R. V. Rao M. A., B. T., Head of the Department of Economics, Dharmendrasinhji College, Rajkot, in going through the proofs and by making suggestions in connection with the publication.

RAJKOT,
January 1946.

Kevalram C. Oza.

"The British Government will be only too glad to see as rapid a development of suitable representative institutions as possible in all the Indian States... ..I am certain this House would wish the British Administration in India to do all it can to encourage and expedite that development."

From the speech of Sir Strafford Cripps, before the House of Commons on the 28th April 1942, after his Indian Mission.

"I refer particularly to the urgent need for the States to adjust themselves to the rapidly changing currents of world opinion, and to leave undone nothing which will help to achieve not only their healthy development, but also, if I may strike a graver note, their survival as valued and respected elements in the new Indian polity which has yet to be evolved".

"When I urged upon the Chamber the necessity for some form of pooling of sovereignty I did not do so without full appreciation of the sacrifices involved, nor yet of the gravity of the eventual consequences which my advice was designed to avert."

From the Address of His Excellency the Viceroy to the Chamber of Princes, 1942 Session.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

The peninsula of Kathiawar has an area of 23,500 sq. miles, its greatest length being 160 miles and greatest breadth 215 miles. Its population is about 36,000,00. Its principal towns are Rajkot—till recently the headquarters of the Western India States Agency, Bhavnagar, Jamnagar, Junagadh, Porbandar, Dhrangadhra, Morvi and Gondal.

Kathiawar is traversed by four small systems of hill ranges mostly running east-west. The Chotila ranges extend northwards too. The principal hills are Chotila (1,173 ft above sea level) and Bardo (2,050 ft.) in the north, and Girnar (3,666 ft.) and Shetrunjo (1,977 ft.) in the south. There are smaller hills too, which do not rise above 800 ft. The rivers are well scattered throughout the province but there is none which can compare with any of the larger rivers of Gujarat. The Girnar hills of ancient fame, the Shetrunja hills, Dwarka, the seat of Shri Krishna and Somnath Patan are among the famous places of pilgrimage. There are many places of mythological interest.

Kathiawar has a 500 mile coast-line which affords bases for pearl and other fisheries. The principal ports are Bhavnagar, Veraval, Mangrol, Porbandar, Okha (Baroda), Bedi (Navanagar) and Navlakhi (Morvi). There had been a flourishing ship-building industry in existence from early

times and its revival depends on the commercial and political instinct of the States. Kathiawar has a very prominent and favourable position to push on its maritime commerce in several directions.

Kathiawar is not yet found to be strong in minerals. Gypsum is found in large quantities in North-West Kathiawar. Iron is worked at times in small quantities and copper is untried. Gold is nominal.

Afforestation is sparse and injudicious. This great shortcoming makes Kathiawar dependant on Gujarat not only for timber but for household fuel. There is a general deficiency of trees, particularly of fruit trees. The land tenure and the short-sighted feudal system in general are partly responsible for this deficiency, as for most of the ills of an administrative origin. The average rainfall is 23 inches. The water supply for drinking purposes is scarce throughout the northern districts and generally insufficient for irrigation except in the southern and south-east tracts.

There are 14 Salute States, of which 12 are Rajput and 2 are Muslim States. There are 60 non-Salute States (semi-jurisdictional Talukas) of which 21 are Rajput, 29 are Kathi, 6 Muslim and 4 other Talukas. The Baroda State also has its territories in Kathiawar. There is also the Portuguese possession of Diu as also some British-Indian territory of the Ahmedabad District.

The principal Rajput clans are Jhalas, Jadejas, Jethwas, Parmars and Gohels. Among the Kathis the principal clans are Velas, Khechars and

Khumans who constitute the land-holding class known as Sakhayats as distinguished from Dhandhals, Basias and a host of other clans who make up the landless class known as Avratyas. The social equilibrium is maintained by the marriage custom by which the landless marry unto the landed and vice versa. The principal Muslim Rulers belong to the Babi family and are connected by marriage with many important States outside Kathiawar such as Radhanpur and Balasinore in Gujarat and Bhopal in Central India. Jafrabad is a Habsi Muslim Salute State on the southern coast.

The rule of primogeniture generally governs succession. The custom of equal division prevailed among the Kathi Talukas and the Muslim Talukas of Manavadar, Bantwa and Sardargadh. It resulted in the sub-division of fairly large estates. It has now been generally superseded by the rule of primogeniture as a result of decades of persuasion dating from as early as the eighties of the last century. In the Jasdan case was cut the Gordian knot. Thereafter, there was a regular crop of advocates of the change. The policy has been thoroughly successful by now. Fragmentation has been checked but no considerable state has been evolved by the process.

Among other classes of political interest are Mulgirassias, the original proprietors who exercised authority before the advent of the British in 1807. They were continued in their holdings and were subjected to the jurisdiction of the

States with a special status. There are also Bhayats or cadets of Ruling Chiefs who have received considerable land from the States for the maintenance of their families.

The conditions prevailing at the time of the British settlement of Kathiawar rendered it advisable to take a large number of landholders, in many cases descendants of the former rulers, under the direct protection of the Political Agency as non-Jurisdictional Talukas. These were grouped in Thana Circles which, along with the Civil Stations of Rajkot and Wadhwan, formed the administered areas of the Political Agency. They were comparatively the best administered parts of Kathiawar. The Resident for the States of Western India was the head of the local government administering these areas. The spirit of the British Indian laws was in force, various enactments being specifically applied from time to time. The Agency had its own laws too.

The reconstruction of the province in 1943 attached the semi-jurisdictional and non-jurisdictional Talukas mostly to the Salute States with the result that the States of Baroda, Junagadh, Navanagar and Bhavnagar have expanded in area, revenue and population.

Kathiawar is served by a network of railways which affords considerable scope for improvement in point of accomodation and in many other important respects. The opening of several ports for coastal service as well as for direct import of

goods from foreign countries has greatly improved the revenues of the railways which are all owned by individual States. Cotton Mills, Chemical Works, Cement and other factories have introduced new features in public life. Banking and insurance are progressing, at least for the time being.

Until late in the 19th century, the Kathiawadi used to be a stalwart and commanding figure, the province abounding in fighting classes. Sloth has partly destroyed the fibre of the landed classes while the other elements lost vigour from extreme poverty arising out of exploitation and continuous lowering of the standard of life. The middle class has suffered in its moral tone and the development of individuality is seriously arrested. The cultivator and the labourer eke out a nominal existence, their ruin being finally accomplished by poisonous draughts of boiling tea-dust served in tea-shops in the towns and villages, by state-engineered gambling at shows and fairs, and by the appalling scourge of malaria and the resultant diseases.

The people are poor, backward in education and in agriculture and have no thriving village industry. Medical relief scarcely reaches the villages. Protection is at the lowest ebb. The public services are scandalously low-paid and inefficient. The province suffers greatly from a lack of co-operative effort to get over the shortcomings,—so diffused is its economy and so narrow the outlook of the States.

With popular resurgence, social and political forces are being liberated which bid fair to take its polity to a pitch suitable for the rectification of deep-rooted grievances and inequities of society. The succeeding chapters outline the historical position and the trends of recent developments with suggestions for the evolution of a polity essential to the orderly growth of a self-respecting society, and able to maintain its unity of life and culture and play its role as a healthy part of the body-politic of India.

CHAPTER II

HISTORICAL RETROSPECT.

320 B. C. to 1807 A. D.

Kathiawar is a peninsula on the western coast of India projecting into the waters of the Arabian Sea. It was known as Saurashtra from times immemorial. But in recent history as the Kathis gained prominence in its affairs, its central district came to be known as Kathiawar which name was given to the whole province by the Marathas in the 18th century.

The early history of Saurashtra from legendary times upto the 4th century B. C. lies embedded in obscurity and a good deal of research is necessary both by archeologists and historians before we can expect any recovery of facts from the debris of oblivion. Here is an object for the Ruling Chiefs and wealthy citizens to direct their riches along useful channels and for students of research a worthy pursuit.

From 320 to 185 B. C. Saurashtra was a province of the Magadha Empire over which the Maurya dynasty ruled. The most renowned king of that period was Emperor Ashok whose edicts (about 256 B. C.) are found inscribed on a rock near Junagadh, which is treated as a preserved monument. Subsequently (70 B. C. to 395 A. D.) Saurashtra became a part of the kingdom of the Kshatrapas (Shakas) who

are supposed to have come from the north and who made Ujjain their capital. The inscriptions of the Maurya and Kshatrapa periods bear testimony to the high culture of the people of Saurashtra and their proficiency in the arts of peace and war. Social intercourse was happy and family usages were held in respect.

One Bhattarka, a general of the Guptas who for a time held sway over this part (395 to 470 A. D.), established his own authority in Saurashtra and founded a city named Vallabhipur in about 500 A. D. near the site of the modern town of Vala, 18 miles from Bhavnagar and made it his capital. The Vallabhi kings ruled there until 770 A. D.

Cutch was then included in Saurashtra as also the portion of Gujarat as far as the river Mahi and the Gulf of Cambay. Saurashtra then had a circumference of about 1300 miles. Vallabhipur became a large and famous city and was the only instance in which there was a seat of government in Saurashtra for an independent kingdom exercising sway over extensive territories. There was a great abundance of wealth and material prosperity. Saurashtra had commerce with other countries both of Asia and Europe, and trade was at its height during this period. The Vallabhi kingdom was predominantly Buddhist, accomodating numerous convents and temples. Nevertheless some of its rulers were devotees of Shiva and followed the injunctions of Manu. The downfall of the house of Vallabhi heralded a new era in Saurashtra. Vaman

sthali (Vanthali), Anhilpur Patan and Junagadhi became new centres of political force and, later on, several Rajput clans came into prominence during the ten centuries following the Vallabhi regime, when they had to face aggression from the Sultans of Gujarat, the Emperor at Delhi and the Maratha invaders.

We are now ushered into the thick of the middle ages which constitute an epoch of strife and turmoil, broken now and then by intervals of respite and peaceful administration. The development during this period has been fragmentary and presents no symptoms of an organic or connected growth. The great prosperity and wealth of Saurashtra provided the incentive for invasion and infiltration which were responsible for the confused polity of the period. Buddhism finally gave way to Brahmanical resurgence, the vitality of which was reflected in the enterprise of the Kshatriyas, which withstood the ravages of terror and invasion down to the dawn of the modern period.

Rajput influence in Saurashtra is traceable from the beginning of the historical period and it is a moot-point whether the Vallabhi kings were really connected with the Wala clan of Rajputs. The Jethvas were in evidence on the sites of modern Morvi and Navanagar and founded Ghumli (West) in the seventh century. The Chavdas had established themselves at Prabhas Patan (South) before the fall of Vallabhi. The Chudasamas became independent at Vanthali on the breakdown of the Vallabhi

kingdom and ruled there for six centuries (875 to 1470). Solanki influence became dominant in the rest of Saurashtra and in Gujarat in the tenth century. Then came the Jhalas (1090) and Gohels (1240). The daring Jadejas who made occasional incursions from Sind between the ninth and the fifteenth centuries, established themselves in Cutch and subsequently settled in Saurashtra in 1540.

Here, we must pause for a moment to pay a passing tribute to the fineness and grandeur of Hindu architecture, the excellence of which lay enshrined in the old and renowned temples of Somnath and Surya Deval at Prabhas Patan, the comparatively modern temple of Somnath rebuilt by Kumarpal Solanki in 1169 and the Jain temples on the Girnar and the Shetrunja hills, which have elicited high encomiums from reputed archeologists and which proclaim, in the stillness of silence, the height of civilisation attained by the people on this side of India, before their history was chequered by foreign invasion.

The origin of the Kathis is rather obscure and the date of their advent in Kathiawar is not definitely settled. But they were found in authority in the 14th century, having entered through Cutch. Probably the Wala Kathis were of earlier date than the others. One Champrajwala, who had established himself at Kileshwar in the Bardia Hills, had to fight the forces of the Suba of Sultan Feroz Taghlakh of Delhi some time between 1351 to 1337. The Khachars settled in Then and Chilla some time about 1400.

Loma Khuman of Kherdi came into prominence between 1583 and 1591 from his espousing the cause of Sultan Muzaffar III. Being freebooters and free lances they came into clash with the Mahomedans as well as with the Marathas and were chastised by them on several occasions. They obtained Chital from the Sarvaiyas in 1735 and Mendarda, Bilkha and Jetpur from Junagadh in 1760. They got Jasdan and the neighbouring territory from the Jadejas and penetrated into Babariawad and the Gir. About the time of the British settlement of Kathiawar, they surrendered a good deal of territory to the astute Vithalrao Damaji, the aggrandising representative of Baroda, in order to secure protection against the the powerful neighbouring states. Their predatory instincts long prevented them from paying attention to the consolidation of territory and conservation of authority, which were the distinguishing traits of the Rajput heirarchy.

A flying Arab incursion into Saurashtra was one of the incidents of their descent on Western India between 710 to 740 A. D. Next came the sack of Somnath Patan and the plundering of its famous temple by Mohomed of Ghuzni in 1025-26, and the invasion of Allauddin Khilji in about 1300 A. D. when he occupied the belt between Ghogha and Madhavpur. After two incursions on Junagadh by Mohomed Taghluk in the middle of the 14th century, came the expedition of Mahomed Begada of Gujarat in 1465. He captured Junagadh, plundered and destroyed the temples at Bet Shankhodhar and appointed a Thandar at Junagadh in 1472.

He forced his nobles to reside in Saurashtra and sent Saiyeds and Kazis from Gujarat who settled down in Junagadh and other places. Thus Mahomedan rule was established at Junagadh on the downfall of the Chudasamas.

There were Musalman Fouzdars in Gujarat from 1297 to 1403. Fouzdar Jafarkhan threw off allegiance and assumed independence as Sultan of Gujarat in 1407. In 1572 Emperor Akbar defeated and captured Sultan Muzafar Shah of Gujarat and appointed an imperial viceroy at Ahmedbad. Muzfar Shah escaped to Saurashtra and enlisted the sympathy of Kathi Loma Khuman of Kherdi, Jam Sutarsal of Navanagar and Fouzdar Dolatkhan Ghorī of Junagadh. They were all defeated in the famous battle of Bhucharmori near Dhrol in 1591. The Jam submitted, Junagadh was reduced and an imperial Fouzdar was appointed there and placed under the Viceroy of Gujarat in 1592. After a century and a half, marked by frequent periods of strife with the Kathis and Rajputs, the power of the Moghuls declined and Sherkhan Babi came over from Gujarat to Kathiawar, and asserted his independence in 1748 with the title of Bahadurkhan, Nawab of Junagadh. Delhi then ceased to have any authority in Saurashtra.

All along the dominance of the Musalmans in Saurashtra, the Rajputs and the Kathis were engaged in maintaining their position through internecine struggles. The weakness of successive Thandars and Fouzdars at Junagadh gave them stimulus in

aggrandising activities, while now and then a strong hand was commissioned by Delhi to set matters right and vindicate the imperial authority. The Portuguese established themselves at Diu in the 16th century after frequent vicissitudes of fortune.

The Marathas appeared on the scene in 1722 and opened a series of depredations for collection of tribute under the name of Chauth. Their capture of Ahmedabad in 1753 and virtual occupation of Gujarat eclipsed the authority of the Moghuls on that side also. The Viceroy of the Peshvas took the place of the Moghul Viceroy at Ahmedabad. In Kathiawar, the Marathas received checks at the hands of Gohel Bhavsinhji and of Dewan Amarji of Junagadh, but it did not stop the recurrence of their visitations. The latter half of the 18th century, following the breakdown of the Moghul authority, was the scene of interminable intrigues and struggles for power, on the part of Junagadh, Bhavnagar and Navanagar. Cutch was also drawn into the vortex and fought its own battles. By far the most conspicuous figure of the time was Dewan Amarji, who thoroughly consolidated the position of Junagadh and rendered aid to Bhavnagar, Porbandar and Navanagar, through a remarkably brilliant career as a successful general and clever statesman. Gohel Vakhatsinhji of Bhavnagar and Khavas Meraman of Jamnagar were the two other outstanding personalities who made the history of their times. From the efforts of this forceful trio, the turbulent Kathis, Mianas and Rabaris were subjugated, the pirates

were hunted away and the authority of their respective States was consolidated.

The task of the Marathas in collecting the Chauth had now become difficult while certain Chiefs of Kathiawar applied to the British for assistance in maintaining their position. Colonel Walker, Resident at Baroda, accompanied the Maratha force under Babaji in 1807 and restored order through settlements made with the Chiefs of Kathiawar after overcoming the slight resistance that was offered. British authority was finally established in 1822.

Despite the dominance of the Musalmans for about three centuries, the depredations of the Marathas which spread over of the 18th century and all the misery and desolation that followed in the wake, it seems the economic life and military ardour of the province withstood it all and the general conditions revived rapidly as soon as the strain was over. This was due partly to its foreign trade and partly to the natural resources which were well conserved. The grains and ghee remained in the province while the cattle wealth was cherished with singular care and devotion. The forest areas were in a good state of conservation and contributed to stabilise the water economy of the subterranean channels while inducing rainfall from above. The village community was in a state of vitality which kept the artisan, the labourer and the cultivator well tied to his home. The village industries were thriving and the province was

economically self-sufficient. It revived even after the severe famine of 1813 (st. 1869). But with the crippling of the foreign trade, the growth of towns, heavy taxation on many an economic front, the exploitation of resources through the railways, an unprecedented exodus of wealth and the operation of such other causes, the village economy as well as the martial spirit wore out in the 19th century, with consequences which will be noticed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER III

THE BRITISH CONNECTION AND THE EVOLUTION OF POLITY.

In making a survey of the present day conditions of Kathiawar, it would be well to take the bearings from the nearest landmarks in the historical background. The feudal order has been handed down to us from times immemorial while numerous dynasties held sway over this province and imposed their rule upon the people. The chaos immediately following the breakdown of the Moghul rule, gave rise to vicissitudes of fortune in various principalities of Kathiawar. The eighteenth century witnessed internecine struggles for power punctuated by recurring incursions of hordes of Marathas for the recovery of tribute. Early in the nineteenth century, the year 1807 marked the advent of British power through what is known as the Walker Settlement. Then followed a period of consolidation of the States by the subjugation of the turbulent classes and outlaws, while the British Government regulated the jurisdiction of the States, settled the boundaries of their territories and assumed jurisdiction over the areas which have come to be known as Thana Circles and Civil Stations. Various administrative and social reforms were effected. A system of education was started by the Political Agency and central bodies were formed under Agency control. A regular judiciary was built up

in the full power States. Channels of justice were provided not only for the ordinary subject but for Bhayats, Mulgirassias and others with a privileged stratus.

The end of the nineteenth century marked the conclusion of this stage. The establishment of ordered conditions had brought a certain measure of progress in its train, notwithstanding the periodical outbursts of outlawry and the ravages of famine. The century, however, closed with a catastrophe of unprecedented magnitude within living memory. The famine of 1900 devastated the province. Cattle perished and men died in large numbers. The peasantry was done for. The entire village community was shattered as an institution. The village trader-banker and distributing agent of the village community, was ruined in the general wreckage. For the Girassias or landlords, who had already been squeezed by litigation, harder luck was in store: in consequence of the abolition of the Rajasthanik Court. Wholesale indebtedness became the principal feature of landholding. Poverty and distress was all that was left of them. The agricultural labourer was ruined in the wake of the worsted cultivator and the Girassia, while the artisan commenced his exodus to industrial centres in British India or to Africa. The devastation of the scene was complete. What little of prosperity had smiled over the land left it, never to be seen again. The century departed in gloom and the curtain was rung down over the tragic end.

The natural question arises, what happened to the cultivator, the village trader, the middle class man and the intelligentsia of the province in the conditions which heralded the dawn of this century? Feudalism became more assertive in relation to the peasants and other subjects in order to satisfy the growing needs of the more refined and expensive life of the 20th century. The revenues necessarily rose and multiplied. Simultaneously rose also the indebtedness of the peasantry and the migrations of the village trader. The middle class man was practically nowhere. He led a miserable life in towns or fled to Bombay, Karachi, Rangoon or Zanzibar. The aristocracy of talent took to the professions. A few of them picked up the crumbs in State and Government service.

About the beginning of this century, the Life Interest Principle, which was half a century old and which had so far almost remained obscure, revived with fresh vigour. It protected the lesser States and Talukas against improvident indebtedness on the part of their Chiefs. The Rule of Primogeniture, a quarter century old, reasserted itself in order to arrest the disintegration of the lesser States. The Princely Order and their affairs became the subject of more continued interest on the part of the Paramount Power. Two reflexes of this was to be seen in the increased conservatism and the feeling of new confidence in the minds of the principal Ruling Chiefs. Gradually the lesser Talukdars began to, posture with the

same feelings. Talukdars and their Bhayats found their way to important positions in civil administration and cadets received training for positions of rank in the military.

The World War (1914-1918) was a distinct phase in the history of every country. To backward countries it brought new ideas. It set new values on life and gave rise to new aspirations. It was, therefore, natural that the Gandhian movement—the reaction to the post-war policy in British India, sent a thrill across the out-of-the-way province of Kathiawar too. Gandhi songs and Swaraj hymns became the order of the day. Kathiawar saw political meetings and conferences. Large numbers took part in the 1930 Satyagraha movement which established numerous contacts with public workers of British India. Literature on socialism was profusely read. The columns of the vernacular press were full of political and social studies. Kathiawar assimilated all this knowledge, though in a much lesser degree than the British districts.

Meanwhile the stress of taxation and monopolies and the improper use of jurisdictional authority had been impinging on the utterly impoverished populace. The society was groaning under the trials of irresponsible administrations. Law and order stood heavily discounted in rural areas. The middle class was in the throes of 'chill penury' and of the painful discomforts of the situation. The ground had thus been prepared for a general upheaval.

The year 1938 witnessed a large explosion of popular feeling in Kathiawar. Following the heels of the Satyagraha at Mansa in Gujarat—the Bardoli of the Indian States movement, the people of some States outside Kathiawar adopted Satyagraha methods. Rajkot, the capital town of Kathiawar, had for generations enjoyed a position akin to that of a free city and had become a 'sort of a refugees' home for politicians and aggrieved subjects of other States. There also, certain local affairs suddenly assumed a serious turn and a general political fight ensued. The conflagration spread all over Kathiawar. Responsible government soon became the rallying cry. In Rajkot itself, the idea was the legitimate successor of the working of the well-received Lakhajiraj Constitution. But in the conglomerate of States, known as Kathiawar, it afforded the nucleus of a strong combination of the Rulers, since there was already much tension in the States all over India, and in Kathiawar the peasants had become restless and electrified at several places. The upheaval lasted a few months and the strength of the movement was broken down by heavy force in Rajkot, Limbdi, Vithalgadh and other places.

One of the results of this movement and its crude handling has been the antagonism between the thinking and the ruling classes, far deeper than can be fathomed by superficial observers. All faith in peaceful and constitutional methods of protest had been shattered for the time being and the way paved for underground activities to arise and

flourish, as they actually did three years later.

The Rajkot movement has been a landmark in Indian politics. Had Rajkot and other similar movements resulted in a workable compromise, an era of understanding between the Rulers and the ruled would certainly have dawned and marked a new chapter in Indian States polity. It would have brought about the operation of the federal part of the Government of India Act and perhaps altered the complexion of world affairs. Even the Times of India had to remark on the 16th October 1943, after more than four trying years, that "It is one of India's tragedies that the federal part of the 1935 Act was not implemented before the outbreak of war; for that misfortune the Princes were themselves partly to blame."

This implementing of the federation and the actual administration of individual States are apparently different matters; but really they are inextricably connected with one another. The States had got to be formed into political groups of sufficient magnitude to figure in the counsels of Federal India. They had also got to be brought on a footing of administration not inconsistent with the popular form of administration at the Centre. The political union of the States and a popular form of administration had accordingly to evolve.

For this purpose the Political Department with the help of Special Officers had long been considering the welding of the Kathiawar States into parts to be fused into the Indian Federation.

The process is now well in the stage of action. The Semi-jurisdictional Talukas have been attached mostly to the important states of Baroda, Junagadh, Nawanagar, Bhavnagar and Dhrangadhra. But some hurdles have not yet been overcome. A Special Officer has been appointed to give effect to the arrangement and it is being finally rounded off by giving it the form of bilateral agreements.

The Bhavnagar and Porbandar States have launched some sorts of experiments in representative government. But it is difficult to forecast whether any state in Kathiawar will be able to steal a real march over the rest in this respect. As compared with a state like Cochin, which in area and resources does not outstrip any of our three leading States and which has made comparatively enormous progress in popular administration with its numerous nation-building institutions, Kathiawar has had a very long run of inaction for more than a generation in this respect; and we do not know the next move yet. It is believed that the democratic process will now be seriously set in motion in the leading States.

CHAPTER IV

THE NEW POLITY

"The Crown Representative has examined the problem ... with all due regard to pledges and obligations for the maintenance and support of Indian States, however small and weak. ... The ultimate test of fitness for the survival of any state is, in his opinion, capacity to secure the welfare of its subjects and he regards the qualified merger of these small States as a justifiable solution of any conflict in his obligations towards Rulers & the ruled. ... the units are unable to achieve the conditions of administrative efficiency which alone can justify in them the perpetuation of any form of hereditary rule."

From H. E. the Crown Representative's
Communique of April 1943.

The disposition of the Semi-jurisdictional and non-jurisdictional Estates mostly along geographical lines has been an important and necessary step towards the reconstruction of polity in Kathiawar. But there are ways in which their position can become more supportable. They can be assimilated in the economy of the Attaching States and obtain special representation in their counsels as well as in the representative bodies of the Kathiawar States.

We have now only the Salute States left for the further evolution of our polity. We need not speculate on any further readjustments among these States. That is a matter between the States and the Paramount Power. We are interested in it no doubt. But our interests more particularly require that the entire polity of Kathiawar should be so arranged in its totality that the interests of all the people in the province are safeguarded, both in general concerns of Kathiawar as a whole and in those of individual States.

Kathiawar, in spite of its diverse and inter-lacing jurisdictions, has enjoyed a unity of life and culture through a coordinating economy known as Central Institutions, managed by a body of ministers of the States and presided over by the representative of the Paramount Power. It must, therefore, become a matter of paramount importance to the people of this province, as it may well be with the Rulers, that the new polity be evolved along lines fostering this consummate unity. What His Excellency the Viceroy observed as regards the Indian States vis-a-vis India in point of unity and existence as part of a large whole, applies with greater emphasis to the individual states of Kathiawar in relation to the polity of Kathiawar as a whole "where common interests are so largely involved. The bonds that link units one to another might be as light as gossamer. But they exist, they are there, and their strength and their significance cannot be denied". (Address to the Chamber of Princes, 1943.)

Important and fargoinf developments are going to take place in the educational, agricultural and industrial spheres. The entire social and fiscal economy has to be adjusted to the needs of the new order that is growing around us. The structures of defence and of law and order call for radical revision. Public health and public services have assumed new significance among our problems, while internal trade and transport have got to be regularised. The States ought, therefore, expand their joint institutions. It would be going entirely against both the spirit and the need of the times to remove the Central Institutions from the sphere of cooperation, when the requirements of the new polity actually demand their expansion. The principle of pooling of sovereignty must apparently cover all the relevant fields of cooperation which, in process of time, will have to be increased as the polity goes on developing.

Another important feature of the new polity is the introduction of representative institutions. It is difficult to find any reason why our front rank States are slow in translating this principle into practice. The new polity can both enlarge and invigorate the legislatures and its incomplete advent cannot be the proper reason for stagnation. The present shocking state of affairs from the manipulations of food, cloth and service goods, as also the failure of law and order over large portions of rural areas would, no doubt, have been absent or only slightly in existence, if the administrations

had been reformed and enlightened by public co-operation and had become subject to their scrutiny. Even yet it is not too late to begin. Bhavnagar, which made a beginning and promised progress, has somehow stopped short. Junagadh has yet to prove its premier position in this respect. Nawarnagar is yet another state of which speedy constitutional reforms can be expected. An assembly, with the franchise and other preliminaries duly settled, can soon come into existence. This is a practical method of evoking public co-operation, and its urgency cannot be overrated. In fact, it is these assemblies that can furnish popular collaboration in the central body of the Kathiawar States, the evolution of which is essential to the satisfactory working of the new polity within the framework of the all-India polity.

The legislative bodies can have a two-thirds majority of elected members, and an elected President. With popular ministers in the executive, the Dewan can be appointed by the Chief as head of the Executive Council.

The municipalities at the headquarters of the States and their districts should similarly have a two-thirds majority of elected members, and an elected President. There should be adequate funds at the disposal of the municipalities and other local bodies and the income of a grant should be liberally earmarked. The local bodies may be experienced State officials for a time. A unitary

account and audit system should come into force for all these bodies.

Village self-government might well operate in all villages with a population of 2000 to 5000. Its initial functions may not be extensive in the beginning but should embrace at least a certain measure of judicial work and rural reforms.

All these self-government institutions should be planned as one whole and will have in the first instance to be related to the progress of the people on the one hand and the first phase of the programme of reconstruction on the other. It would be worthwhile enlisting the services of men having experience of the working of these institutions in the Bombay Province or in a state like Mysore, which has had a fairly long career in the working of representative institutions and has also a very comprehensive programme of rural welfare in actual operation for over two years.

It would be a great loss of valuable time for individual states to make experiments in self-government on separate lines. We should make the fullest use of the existing patterns and adopt uniform methods for the whole of Kathiawar as far as possible, so that we can take stock of the results and advance by definite stages along a settled course.

Our need is a balanced economy in a balanced polity. It requires, in the first instance, careful political and administrative planning for Kathiawar as a whole. This includes settling the constitution of Kathiawar, including the procedure for cooperation

and coordination of the joint activities of the States and the association of the people in those activities on representative lines. There should also come a programme of social and economic activities, and of administrative reforms. And lastly, we can have some kind of economic planning for Kathiawar as a whole, a matter of great complexity and calling for expert assistance in assessing the potentialities of resource and the stages of development in education, agriculture, public health, industry and technology.

CHAPTER V

SOCIETY.

(A) The Background.

Kathiawar is mostly a Hindu province. While from early times the joint family system with its laws of marriage, coparcenary and succession made up the general framework of Hindu society, the caste system with its peculiar customs worked itself out within that framework and imparted its hue to the fabric of that society. The arrangement so developed in process of time as to afford a gradation of progressive classes, each assimilating the culture and traditions of the society according to its competence and transmitting the valued heritage from generation to generation. Life was divided into four periods or stations (Ashrama) with appropriate functions and ways of life. This peculiar and corporate character of our social and domestic life, with considerable scope for individual evolution, has endowed our civilisation with a tenacity which has stood the stress and turmoil of thousands of years.

Corporate existence was also a 'feature' of the economic, religious and political life of ancient India. In the economic field, among other achievements, the organisation of guilds was a prominent feature. "The guild in ancient India was not merely the means of development of arts and crafts but through the autonomy and freedom

accorded to it by the law of the land, it became a centre of strength and an abode of liberal culture and progress, which truly made it a power and ornament of society." "The guild organisation continued down to the latest days of the Hindu period." (*Corporate Life in Ancient India* by H. J. Majumdar p. 68 and 71).

On the political side, the "village communities had a considerable degree of self-government and in fact constituted a number of republics with whose administrative system there was the minimum of interference. Sanitation was surprisingly advanced and medical men were placed in all the centres of life." (*History of Indian Literature* by Herbert Goren p. 183). Moreover, "The system of electing the king was not unknown to the people of the vedic period" and keen competition characterised the election campaigns. "Even in the 19th age the system of election had not completely died out." In later times, the *Gumar Inscription* of 110 A. D. refers to Rudradaman as "one who was elected king by all the castes for their protection" (*Corporate Life in Ancient India*, p. 91, 117-118). There were in vogue in ancient India, the Sabha or the local assembly, the Samiti or the village Assembly, and the Mantri Parishad or the Minister Council. The king was expected to consult the assembly to call both his ministers and members of the Privy Council" (*ibid* p. 127).

It will thus be seen that the political system of ancient India was not a mere autocracy but a system of self-government and progress, which truly made it a power and ornament of society.

intact by the characteristic features of the caste, the Ashrama and the joint family systems, which within themselves underwent far-reaching changes from time to time as circumstances demanded. The texture of economic and political life on the other hand, began to wear out under the influence of a number of factors which affected our polity from time to time, beginning, perhaps, with the imperialism of the Guptas and continuing under the sway of subsequent regimes, while Western domination with its systems of education, industry and general administration brought about the more fargoing changes in both these respects in the 19th century. The 20th century marks a period of political consciousness, ideological progress and springs of action, cooperative as well as militant as circumstances dictate, but laying emphasis on political reform as the fountain-head of the much desired reconstruction of social and economic life.

! With this background, we will proceed to survey the present trends in society and indicate the directions in which we can turn with advantage for the evolution of a polity conducive to the development of a balanced social and economic order.

(B) MODERN TRENDS.

While a peep into the past is calculated to throw light on the background of our traditions and culture, a study of the modern trends would indicate the atmosphere in which our work is to proceed and the material with which the society is to be remodelled and its polity developed.

Among the Hindus caste as a social institution has been a development from very early times. The evolution of caste from a professional to a hereditary order seems to have been the result of the attempt of the society to adjust itself to conditions existing about the period of the confluence of the Aryan and Dravidian cultures. The numerous subdivisions of the principal four castes must have been due to varieties of avocation and local circumstances. During the early stages there was a kind of intermingling among the Brahmins, Kshatriyas and Vaishyas under definite circumstances as regards food, marriage, etc. But after the decline of Buddhism, Hindu resurgence so shaped itself as to make caste a hidebound institution somewhere about the eleventh century A. D.

The main points in the caste-system are (1) Inter-dining, (2) Inter-marriage, (3) Untouchability of the lowest orders (Bhangis and Dhodhs in Kathiawar). These factors have begun to give way under the influence of Western culture and of new conditions of life in towns and cities. The railway has done a good deal of levelling down. In quite recent times social legislation in British India has made great contribution towards social equities and more legislation is likely in coming years. Kathiawar has, no doubt, responded to these tendencies and must continue to do so.

The rigour of the caste system has been broken. Inter-dining is getting free. It is time that partition walls within individual castes be de-

molished without delay. Fusion of several castes into a few basic ones through voluntary but well regulated inter-caste marriages, is the dictation of the times from common sense as well as from pressing emergencies which are increasing day by day. There is nothing in such orderly transfusion that might prevent the spiritual ties continuing as at present if we really will it, the society being purged of its distempers and its moral backbone strengthened. Even in the face of the far-reaching consequences of the impact of world forces on our social structure, we have no reason to fear that our cultural heritage will be destroyed. It must be transformed but it rests with us to retain the best in the blood stream.

Caste as the progenitor of unhealthy rivalries in state affairs is not an uncommon feature and there is much inequity in business as well as in the political field. It devolves on all sensible people to be just and equitable in their dealings from positions of authority and to avoid undue preferences or malicious discountings. This is a necessary condition of all round progress.

In the field of education caste plays a large part in the distribution of private patronage. But the States should follow an even or equitable course. Some States extend facilities for foreign education to selected persons who subsequently rise to positions of rank and trust. It is highly desirable that such patronage be also equally distributed as far as possible. Social equality connotes equal opportunities and equal freedom for self-expression. It tends to

strengthen the society, while its absence would make it a prey to interference from outside.

The joint family system still holds the field along with caste though, within its fold, discipline has greatly suffered from the impact of the Western civilisation as well as the undigested notions of independence picked up from political propaganda. This system rests on two important principles. The first is its economical character. The second is the training ground it affords to young couples in the first few years of married and paternal life. In most communities, Indian as well as non-Indian, in which divorce is allowed, this is the period when youth stumbles on itself through immature psychology. Misunderstanding, largely imaginary, is the responsible factor. The conflicts arise mainly from unrestricted contact and freedom. The joint family is a salutary controlling and corrective agency. Now that the age of marriage has risen and life has become more itinerant, the friction in the system as well as the normal period of coparcenary has been much reduced. Its greatest asset is mutual service. It is wholly a voluntary partnership and stands entirely on its merits. It rests on no superstition but provides a cooperative institution the advantages of which generally outweigh the disadvantages. It has a pivotal position in the structure of Hindu society and, with the spread of culture among the females, promises still better results. However, much will depend on the spirit of the age and the development of economic factors

through social legislation some of which is already on the anvil.

Both at home and at school, the youth has suffered in discipline and steadiness. He loses himself at the college. He is more restive than energetic, more showy than substantial, and dissipates himself through aimless scattering of energy. Moral values are not sufficiently appreciated by him. Part of it is natural to youth, the rest of it is an unhealthy reaction from the impact of new social forces and a changing outlook on life. The youth, however, is not the only sufferer. Even the mature hang in an uncertain balance. The girls are more cautious than the boys. But it is very necessary that both boys and girls be guided to adjust themselves quite becomingly to new conditions, so as to enable them to bear with dignity and courage the burdens of the order of existence which is unfolding itself before their eyes. Better understanding and regulation of discipline in schools and colleges are needed to help them in the present crisis. We are in an acute stage of social and political transformation and a temporary disturbance of the social balance is inevitable. But sober thought must continue to pursue the problem with care and sympathy.

The education imparted to girls ought certainly not be servile to the Bombay University standard for boys as it now is, but should be self-sufficient and worthy of a woman's university. There should be some originality in the plan of

girls' education and it should be made thoroughly practical in point of domestic needs and home industries. It should properly emphasise moral values through an interpretation of life in the light of the best traditions of our religious and historical past. The derailed and imitative life and style of today must be put on the rails again with the foundations duly strengthened.

With the increased age of marriage, the problem of widowhood becomes less pressing. Moreover, education does a good deal to help widows on to a self-supporting position. Society must, however, remain alert, provide cottage industries and train women for professions befitting their position. They should be able to look to a central association for guidance. This is very essential.

Women played their part in the political struggle of 1938-39. With the spread of education they should be able to take their sisters ahead in cultural and economic activities too. Although our social structure is different from that of Soviet Russia, the details of the tremendous strides made by her women in every department of social and industrial life are worth studying. The Chinese women have also progressed very far on their own lines in a highly conservative society, and the history of their movement is also instructive. In both cases there was some competition with menfolk. At our present stage, there is no such competition but it is essentially a matter of evolution of woman and her cooperation in breaching the

economic fronts of vested interests and in reviving national culture through a reoriented household-artistic, yet rich in domestic and social service.

Everywhere in this country the middle class is being pressed down very nearly to the position of the working class, a few of them going up to join the stratum known as the upper middle class. This is due to general political and economic causes. We have to beware of this ominous development. The middle class deserves to be strongly supported in everything that relates to its welfare and prevented from being virtually wiped out as a valuable social and political force. It is time every middle class family takes the position very seriously and thinks out the ways and means of improving its position as a class.

The social condition of the lower orders calls for special attention. The dissolution of marriage ties through sheer greed of bride-money is very common among the lower classes, and the parties are now and then drawn to the courts on some charge of an extraditable offence. Social workers ought to extend their field of operation to these classes and endeavour to bring about closer understanding amongst them. The social life of the lowest orders must be purged of ignorance and superstition and brought within the pale of reason and justice. They should thus be rescued from themselves and brought as near as possible to the middle class in social and intellectual standards.

The most urgent need of the times is to reform religion which, among the lower orders, is more allied to superstition while, among the middle class, it is lost in sectarianism and suffers grievously from the unedifying example of many a sectarian overlord. Our religious teachers, in order to give us a correct lead in modern life, ought to be thoroughly conversant with the present trends of society and politics. Modern science is so largely expository of the course of evolution—a basic concern of all true religion—that religious teachers cannot afford to miss the teachings and conclusions of science, if they wish to continue in a proper position to guide religious thought and play their appropriate part in the moulding of society. There is no place or use for antiquated tradition unreplenished by the springs of current thought or the implications of current polity. Mere divine order is meaningless without relation to the universe whose order it is its important function to maintain. The understanding of universal conditions is, therefore, the sine qua non of religious leadership, whose function it is to apply the principles of religion to the conditions of life and society, to fertilise the barren fields of secular thought and thus enable people to reap the harvest of balance and harmony now threatened with chaos and disintegration all over.

The practice of religion is now-a-days bereft of its realities. Even the educated classes, whether they observe the ceremonial or merely follow the dogma, do not generally assimilate the basic moral

principles and in most cases the great paucity of their acquisitions in this respect is directly reflected in all spheres of business and public life. This is the greatest handicap to the development of an enduring social order. There is, indeed, a very small class whose deep religious understanding is based on sincere devotion to duty and selfless service. But the general moral tone and the evolutionary get up of the people from which the real state of religion must be gathered, make an urgent demand for more of truth and ingrained virtue and less of dogma, ceremonial and formal worship of all kinds. More study is also needed for correct appreciation of religious truth.

The Muslims are also in a fervent. Their various sections are seriously engaged in social and religious reform. This is a very happy sign and is bound to promote healthy thought, an essential of sound culture. They have every opportunity for progress which it behoves them to accentuate by checking fissiparous tendencies in social matters like education, by cultivating religious thought on scientific lines and avoiding its obsession in the secular field. The progress of the predominantly Muslim countries like Turkey has been due to their capacity to assimilate this basic factor in their national life; and the fresh wave of political resurgence amongst them postulates nothing short of a fusion of ideals in common welfare and the elimination of discordance through reason, equity and good sense.

Untouchability is not a political problem in Kathiawar, not even a serious social problem. It is extremely limited. Social workers are, however, active in this direction. Now and then, the awkwardness of the position is betrayed by village squabbles grounded in superstition. The remedy lies in the education of the masses and better living conditions for the untouchables. The work may be expedited with special emphasis on cleanliness, good water supply, facilities for education and better payment for services in salary and supply of clothes. Untouchability has begun to disappear in practice.

Another problem which touches life in the cities and towns is that of vagrancy and beggary. Drastic measures are necessary in both cases as they are the springboards from which the miscreants jump into the fields of dacoities, robberies and petty as well as organised thefts. They invade the household by insidious methods. They even persuade domestic servants to leave off their jobs and join their comfortable careers—a very serious position. It is time that the hundreds of idlers and criminals let loose on the society, are forced to work and behave. They can work on the roads and in the workhouse which should now become a new social institution. Would our States arrange it?

(C) GENERAL.

Society is now a days growing with the new concepts of war and peace. Whatever part the state may play in the shaping of society, the duty of promoting all welfare activities must devolve on

the cultured part of the population—public workers, school masters and state officials in their personal and voluntary capacity, while the well-to-do must, in duty, go on providing ample funds. Unless this is done, we can neither have a place in the society of free people nor any ordered society at all. Mere political rights can neither support themselves nor the society. We must therefore work hard and adjust our society and our institutions to what is necessary to earn and maintain our freedom.

The new polity in Kathiawar is of the greatest consequence to us. We can look to it to maintain and promote our unity of life and culture. We have much in common with Gujarat; yet Kathiawar has its peculiarities and forms a distinct economic, social and political unit. Kathiawar can co-operate collectively with Baroda and the Gujarat States and districts (Bombay Province.) But it cannot afford to be assimilated in any other system so as to lose its individuality. In any case we have to settle our ideas as to the life we want to live, the society we wish to build up, the polity that would suit our life and aims, and the manner and means by which our purpose will be served. To that end we have to examine the bearings of the various administrative factors on our social, economic and political problems and try to solve them by the constructive method. It is largely a question of massive co-operation—hard, sustained and intelligent work, to bend the situation to our needs.

CHAPTER VI

EDUCATION AND INTELLECTUAL ACTIVITIES.

It is necessary to point out at the outset that it is desirable to have a central Board of Control of the representatives of the States and the Agency and any members of the public that may be coopted, for primary, secondary and higher education for the whole of Kathiawar. They can regulate such matters as qualification of teachers and professors, scales of salary, courses of study, text-books etc. Much inconvenience is felt from different books on the same subject being taught at different places in Kathiawar, when families shift from place to place from service, business or social circumstances. Moreover, there is a considerable variation in the efficiency of schools, and the Board can arrange for periodical inspection from this point of view.

Primary Education. A four year programme is suggested below for opening new schools in villages:

1st year. (a) Villages with a population of over 750 which may be without Schools. (b) 40 p. c. of the villages with a population of 600 to 750 which may be without schools, preference being given to outlying villages. (c) Separate girls' school for villages with a population of 1200 or more.

- 2nd year. (a) Remaining villages with a population of 600 to 750. (b) 20 p. c. of villages with a population of 400 to 600 which may be without schools.
- 3rd year. } The remaining villages with a
4th year. } population of 400 to 600 in
equal parts.

The villages with a population of less than 400 call for special treatment. The school master for such villages may have multiple functions for such purposes as adult education, public health propaganda and, if possible, administration of standard medical relief.

I would also refer to the need for models of primary and middle school buildings of various sizes with broad verandas, large doors and windows, an appropriate compound, a suitable water-room and urinal. The inspection of primary schools calls for the closest attention. It should be both frequent and scientific; and the best part of the inspecting staff should be made available for this purpose.

Advanced Primary Schools. All towns and villages with a population of over 2000 may have what may be termed Gujarati High schools, where a more pronounced avocational bias may be imparted as regards cottage and village industries, including knowledge of the mechanics, works-processes and elementary cost accounts of such industries as cotton and woolen textiles, oil pressing, paper making, etc. On the theoretical side, instruction may be

imparted in elements of physics, chemistry, accounts, civics and political economy. This is necessary in view of the coming expansion of industry and birth of the electorate.

Secondary Education. It is linked with the University standard but calls for much closer departmental supervision which is hardly possible in States other than the leading States. The standard of efficiency is generally poor and the turn out, for purposes of higher education, is simply miserable. The teachers are badly paid and depend more on tuitions than on salary. Corruption in allotting marks and in canvassing success for pupils receiving private tuition, has reached the climax. Discipline is necessarily very low. The public as well as the States should rise to the extreme gravity of the situation.

Higher Education. As regards higher and technical education, the Board can assist in deciding what institutions should be opened at different places and regulate the financial and other matters relating to the management and efficiency of the institutions. It should see that only high-class institutions are maintained and that the standard of efficiency is not allowed to go below that of the first-rate institutions in the Bombay Presidency. Otherwise the turn-out will be poor and we will be thrown back in competition in all walks of life. Technical institutions should provide for adequate instruction in mechanical, electrical and chemical engineering. The industries must co-operate in bearing the burden of the cost and providing facilities for

practical training. In course of time we should have a university of Kathiawar for which purpose a committee has recently been appointed.

Adult Education. The Board or the educational departments of States may draw upon the methods adopted at Bombay and elsewhere. It may be profitable to appoint a committee from the public to work under state supervision with a specific grant of say Rs. 3/- per pupil and to see that travelling and local libraries so operate as to prevent literacy from lapsing.

Vocational Education. The ground should no doubt be prepared from the very beginning in the primary schools and further bias provided by the secondary schools. Bifurcation must be arranged at suitable stages and this postulates the provision of appropriate technical institutions. The Government of India will probably give the lead in such matters.

We require two more training colleges for male and female teachers each and a Secondary Teacher's Training College, in order to meet the growing demand for trained teachers. More than that, our advanced primary schools may be so regulated that they provide for an optional course in teaching, so that the students may be able to join the training colleges at an intermediate stage.

Military education calls for special notice. The high schools and colleges may provide some facilities. But on the technical side we do require a sort of a military school, complete in all respects upto a certain stage. The same applies, with special

emphasis, to nautical studies. Kathiawar, as the sentinel of India on her western highway in the Indian Ocean (the Arabian Sea), has a unique position in the naval strategy of India and this fact entitles it to special provision for study and practical training in that branch of defence, besides technical training in shipbuilding. In both the above respects, Kathiawar may reasonably expect the financial burden to be borne by the Government of India, the States providing the necessary scholarships and individual equipment.

Cultural Education. We have few libraries which can answer the modern requirements and in the peculiar conditions of Kathiawar, a graded series of libraries may be conceived. But they must become a living affair and be supervised by the educational departments of the States. Travelling libraries must enter the field to provide the needs of an expansive general and political education of the electorate and to ensure that literacy in the villages does not lapse from inanition. We should have a minimum scale for a standard public library at the headquarters of every semi-jurisdictional State with arrangements for its proper maintenance. Some of the larger States require libraries on a befitting scale both at the headquarters and in the districts. Some places have very poor libraries and it is hoped they will soon make up the leeway. The Kathiawar complement of the Sahitya Parishad might well take up the survey of libraries throughout Kathiawar and, if possible, set a movement

afoot not merely to encourage the opening of new libraries but to offer suggestions and information in order to keep the libraries well abreast of the times. The people will know where to offer donations.

We badly need a residential Sanskrit College. It should become a centre of Vedic studies in particular and of Sanskrit studies in general. Our religion is based on the Vedas but how few can read and understand them ! The College can take the Pathshalas of Kathiawar under its wings and put them on a more systematic basis. An excellent Sanskrit library can be maintained in the institution. Our businessmen and the public should bear the brunt of the original cost and the States might assist in the upkeep.

Kathiawar is the home of mythology and there is considerable scope for archeological as well as historical research. For the present we depend on the Gujarat Vernacular Society and the university scholars to carry on what little could be done in these respects but with the expansion of archeological studies in India, of which there is now a fair prospect, we may hope for further cultural progress in this direction. The Watson Museum at Rajkot might well afford the necessary facilities for a small beginning.

Our cultural backwardness is mainly due to the fact that few able and genuine workers can afford to remain in Kathiawar while the States are devoid of initiative in such matters and their services afford neither stability nor anything like a

career to our educated men. It is also due to the fact that conditions of corporate life have not come into existence and that freedom of thought and expression has had no scope in an atmosphere of feudal dominance running through the very core of our existence. Beginnings of corporate thought and action are in the making but they can only thrive in liberal and enlightened administrations.

General. Life is in the melting pot and as more light and liberalism emerge out of the present day struggle, there will be more hope of education progressing in the various useful directions to which necessity points. For larger possibilities to materialise, for a systematic and vigorous evolution of education and for the expansion of intellectual activities, we have to look forward to the emergence of a sounder and unified polity which can furnish the financial and expert assistance necessary for higher and technical education and research. More stable conditions will also induce the appreciative public to make large donations to the cause of education in the province as a whole.

CHAPTER VII

AGRICULTURE AND RURAL ECONOMY.

The basic tenure is the Ryotwari or the tenancy-at-will and the system of land revenue is the Bhagbatai or recovery in kind, which is supplemented by a tax known as Santi Vero. A few states have granted occupancy rights to the cultivators which include the right of mortgage and sale. The advantages of the latter system far outweigh those of the former which has become intolerable from conditions of surfdom attaching to it and the utterly arbitrary system of government in the States.

Pending establishment of a responsible system of government, we should exert ourselves to bring about such reforms as are practicable at this stage. Briefly, we require in the immediate future, stability of tenure for the cultivators and a fairly uniform system of land revenue collection with statutory safeguards as regards taxation (in cash and kind), ejection, modes of recovery,, suspension and remission of revenue etc. The States should arrive at a convention in these matters and adopt a land revenue code, the provisions of which can be enforced by the courts of law subject to the final decisions of the High Court. I will now deal with some of the principal problems connected with agriculture and the rural economy in general.

Small (uneconomic) holdings. The problem of small holdings is mostly confined to some of the

lands owned by Bhayats, Mulgirasias and shareholders of non-jurisdictional Estates in which the process of subdivision has gone too far. The sale of lands to collaterals and to the State in certain contingencies is a rather slow process for purposes of consolidation. But the problem is not acute in Kathiawar and can be dealt with by the States individually.

Land Tax. The most outstanding problem, one which calls for the active interest of the Paramount Power in order to secure a uniform and equitable land revenue policy by a convention of the States, is that of land-tax which has transcended the limits of sound administration. The taxes work out from 35 to 50 p. c. of the net income. The Taxation Inquiry Committee in British India suggested that land-tax should be restricted to 25 p. c. of the net income at the outside. This we may well adopt.

Justice to the cultivator apart, it is the pivotal requirement of village restoration. The village labourer, the artisan, the village trader and the small financier cannot really prosper without this reform. As things go, there are no chances of bunding or manuring the land adequately or of using the best seeds and better implements for improved and intensive tillage, while the cultivator is exploited out of capacity. Granting loans and advances would only make the situation worse in such a deficit economy. Viewed from the point of the people's health and nourishment, there is no chance of producing grains of quality or rearing cattle either in quality or in sufficiency for agricul-

tural and dairy needs while inequity in the land-tax goes on ruining the soil and its man.

This momentous problem is being variously approached in the British Indian Provinces. Our problem is simpler than that of provincial Zamindars in that, so far as the States are concerned, the land revenue is only a part of the total revenues while judicial and municipal sources make a substantial contribution to the exchequer. This problem has a very crucial significance in the total economy of the province as well as in the solution of the larger social problem of a living wage and a square meal.

Tenancy-at-will. It should give way to occupancy rights. His Excellency the Viceroy drew the attention of the States to the need for this reform at Rajkot in about 1925, but it has not made much headway yet. It has even successfully slept over the din of war with its "Grow more Food" and "Grow more Vegetables" campaigns. The tenancy-at-will is uneconomic and a severe drag on agriculture. All improvement is at a discount under this system. When the occupancy rights are given, as can be done straight-away without any charge, the levies can go on being made in cash and kind until purely cash assessment is introduced. A few States have improved upon the tenancy-at-will but even there the action is slow and halting and we even come across cases of reversion to Bhagbatai, after the introduction of the cash assessment system, from profit motives.

Debts. Agricultural indebtedness was estimated by Mr. A. B. Trivedi in his book "Kathiawar Economics" at Rs. 13½ crores in 1943. The position must have been somewhat simplified from the recent rise in the prices of commodities though the cultivator's gain must not have been more than 50 per cent. of the rise owing to the intervention of the state and the middleman. Still there must be many in debt and this is the most favourable time to launch an inquiry and settle this important problem.

Co-operative movement. This movement has scarcely been attempted in Kathiawar until quite recently and that too in very rare cases. In British India and elsewhere it has shown remarkable possibilities of rural welfare, more particularly in the marketting and sale of commodities. The States of Kathiawar would do well to send out competent revenue officers to study the movement and adopt it as early as possible. It has a definite place in the economy of small industries in village areas. A co-operative bank would be a fitting sequel to this movement and would prove very helpful to the entire agricultural economy.

Self-Sufficiency. The food requirements of the people of Kathiawar should be ascertained, with due regard for the diet of the different communities and the crops planned accordingly. The plan should also include the requirements on account of seeds, grass and fodder for milch, agricultural and transport animals: also cotton and wool for clothing. Cotton goes under cropping, while wool becomes

a matter of cattle economy. All the wool, hides, horns and bones should be utilised locally through small industries.

Cottage and Small Industries. These are required as ancilliary to agriculture in order to afford work to the cultivator and the village labourer during the off season and to utilise the agricultural products for home consumption (industrially) Cotton and woollen cloth, oils, pottery, and gur are among the leading products. But this economy has to be settled by the Rural Department in conjunction with the local trader, financier and worker. Sale and marketing organisations should be brought into existence. Cheap instruments should be provided and special measures taken for the protection of the industries (1) by financial aid (2) by eliminating the competition of machine made-goods through tariffs and other means, and (3) by any other measures specially called for.

It would be best to take up cottage and small industries first in a group of villages in a particular district. Next come other groups, turn by turn, in the same district. Having finally coordinated the work in the same district, begin the next but simultaneously go on improving the first and model district to the highest pitch of efficiency.

This is a matter of no small complexity ; but when carried out, it will have solved a great social problem and added immensely to the stability of the States.

'Rural Education and Localisation of Industry.

North, west and south of Kathiawar, within twenty miles of the sea-coast, is a sparsely populated belt of territory, backward in education and the home of high crime. There are several important and industrial towns too in that zone, but on the whole, this part needs many primary schools, with agricultural and mechanical bias, and it is desirable that small industry be extended to this area. The strength of the police also requires to be increased in these backward parts which are largely situated between the hills and the sea-side. The problem here is a product of illiteracy, unemployment and administrative apathy. It is now a 'first class problem in law and order and stands out predominantly in the political field as a challenge to constituted authority in the States.

Conclusion. The crux of our problem is that self-sufficiency in agriculture and success in cottage and small scale industries cannot be attained without complete, constant and watchful cooperation of the States of Kathiawar in joint action. These factors must also regulate our exports and imports and thus govern the economy of the railways and ports, besides covering some points in tariffs and finance. The Paramount Power and the States might well settle the policy and follow it up with the help of popular representatives. Of course there may be several ways in which the economy of Kathiawar can be handled by the States individually as well as in joint action under the guidance of the Paramount

Power. But the confusion of the situation would only be relieved by introducing the essential administrative reforms and coupling them with cottage and small scale village industries as the urgent and overriding concern of the Princely Order, with all the financial and legislative protection that the States can afford.

Among our other problems may be mentioned irrigation, cattle economy, afforestation, schools of agriculture, housing of cultivators and their livestock, intensive agriculture and agricultural finance. It is not proposed to deal with them in detail.

CHAPTER VIII

TAXATION AND FISCAL ECONOMY.

In the fiscal economy of our States and, therefore, of Kathiawar as a whole, the pride of place must go to the Civil Lists and Privy Purses of the Rulers, a subject which has too long been under the consideration of the States. The general principle was accepted at the Session of the Chamber of Princes in 1928, but as it has not yet been translated into practice, His Excellency the Viceroy was pleased to suggest in his 1942 address to the Chamber that "The Chancellor and Their Highnesses of the Standing Committee will not hesitate to take my Political Advisor into their confidence before the final stage of their deliberations is reached". The Times of India made the following rather trenchant criticism on this subject on the 16th October, 1943, not inconsistent with the pressing and absorbing nature of the question: "In the new Britain which is emerging from one of the greatest crises in its history, there will be no sympathy with-indeed there will be hostility to any form of administration within the Commonwealth which tolerates antiquated and discredited ideas about the Rulers' personal income and expenditure. The Princes have before them the personal example of His Majesty the King Emperor. Indian India's paramount duty today is to march with the times and to prepare itself to play a worthy and useful part in the country's future

progress". But even when the civil lists and privy purses are settled, there will remain large loopholes in the fiscal economy of the Kathiawar States so long as effective constitutional controls are not applied to their working. The Times of India, therefore, stood nearer the constitution than expediency in presenting to the Princes the noble analogy of the personal example of His Majesty the King Emperor.

Next to the Rulers and their families, come a large number of Bhayats or collaterals, the descendants of a long succession of rulers. For them villages have been set apart from time to time and fresh accessions take place at each succession in the Salute and other states. This is another source of customary burden on the society but without any reciprocal benefit in these times.

Taxation at pleasure has been the order of the day, the most pronounced and blatant in the case of the lesser States and Talukas, the more insidious and systematic in the case of the more refined and 'progressive' States. Any code of tariffs will tell its own tale. Some method of uniformity and control should be achieved and maintained for all general taxes.

Then come monopolies, the howitzers of the fiscal armoury. Some one state starts them and the others respond in chorus or bring out their own varieties—monopolies in sugar, in pan leaves, in bidi, in matches and in what not? These call for close scrutiny and right treatment.

Our railways and ports must make their own contribution to the fiscal economy of the province which would have to maintain costly educational and other institutions and contribute adequately towards defence. Their profits might well be limited to a fixed percentage, say 4 per cent., and the surplus made available for joint contributions.

Articles of food (including vegetables), medicine and education ought to be free or lightly taxed. Export of foodgrains, fodder and ghee from Kathiawar must be prohibited and restrictions on the internal flow of commodities should be removed. These latter are fruitful sources of many an inequity on all classes of subjects as well as neighbouring states. This question will be referred to in some detail in the next chapter while dealing with the problem of trade barriers. But it is necessary to collect all the tariff schedules as they existed in 1807 and those at present in force, both as regards land and sea customs and regulate the entire system and quantum of taxation afresh.

Taxation in the Indian States will have to follow the lines of British India in several respects. The income tax, if introduced, will be new to Kathiawar, while the existing taxation in the agricultural and other spheres, direct as well as indirect (monopolies etc), has gone beyond the taxable capacity of the people at large. The entire field of taxation in Kathiawar requires to be thoroughly examined to ensure both uniformity and substantial relief. Taxation must cease to be a mathematical process

of multiplication of revenues at the people's expense and be brought within the field of responsibility. Land and sea customs demand revision.

It follows from the above and similar considerations that taxation in the States of Kathiawar requires to be revised and equalised through a central machinery. General taxation should be made subject to the legislative control of a central body, municipal taxation being in local hands but subject to popular control. It is desirable that the principles of taxation be jointly settled by the States and the Agency on the report of a Taxation Inquiry Committee for Kathiawar, representative in character and including popular interests. The scope of municipal receipts and charges should be clearly defined on the analogy of the municipalities in the Indian provinces, so that this vexatious question may not have to be fought out in individual states.

These complicated questions make it abundantly clear that the exigencies of administration make it highly desirable that a joint body of the States and the people be set up in Kathiawar in order to regulate its general economy along progressive, responsible and uniform lines, subject of course to the constitutional provisions of the Indian Federation that may come into existence.

CHAPTER IX

TRADE, INDUSTRY AND COMMUNICATIONS.

There are innumerable barriers of tariffs which throttle the internal trade of Kathiawar, notoriously so in mid-Kathiawar which lies engulfed in a stifling network of jurisdictions. Round about Jetpur in mid-Kathiawar, almost every second village there is a change of jurisdiction. Heavy import duties guard the monopoly and other interests of important states in commodities like sugar and support trade rivalries in articles like cloth. The subjects labour under tremendous disadvantages and hardships from such conditions. These conditions must end. Barring the requirements of protection to indigenous industries, there must be free trade within the province as a whole. The States should possibly do away with export and import duties on articles moving from place to place within Kathiawar. They must improve their own trade instead of hampering others by sheer force of jurisdiction.

The interstatal tariffs and restrictions of all kinds should be referred back to the date of the Walker Settlement (1807). No state has a right to encroach on the territories of another state, either through landed or economic aggression. Tariffs and trade barriers should all be brought under scrutiny. Even in the case of privileges actually exercised in 1807 and not subsequently lost, their

continued existence must be rendered subject to the equities of the present day conditions.

There are some trunk and branch roads in Kathiawar. On the whole there is a paucity of good roads which fact is responsible for nerve-racking passenger traffic by the motor bus system which is outrageous to a degree.

The rehabilitation of the village economy requires that groups of villages be interlinked with the trunk roads, possibly at Railway Station points. The railways can also be connected by cross-routes so as to form short circuits, without giving any consideration to loss of revenue where the questions of economy of travelling and public convenience are involved. The entire system should be so devised as to facilitate the transport of agricultural produce and local merchandise. A universal 15 feet metaled road system for all rural areas is suggested.

The trunk roads may become a central responsibility and the branch and village roads should become the responsibility of individual states. For this purpose it is necessary to expedite the evolution of district self-government no less quickly than that of urban municipal self-government. All village to village traffic should be carried on over well-kept macadamised roads built at proper levels.

Travelling by motor bus is bitterly uncomfortable. The large number of jurisdictions is a severe handicap to the launching of a good motor servi

along high roads. Every jurisdiction has to be satisfied before a service is permitted to run across it. What a terrible amount of cost and trouble and seeking of good offices before a license can be had even for fifty miles? Monopolies of bumping bus service run riot right across the province. Between the inconveniences of the ill-fitted 3rd class railway carriages—no comfort by day, no sleep by night—and the ill inspected motorbus service, the only choice goes to the saving of time or money. Communications both by rail and road ought to be placed under a central authority and made sufficiently cheap and thoroughly comfortable. How long should we have to put up with these discomforts despite our large contributions to the numerous exchequers of this province? The arrangement is not only bad, but economically unsound. It stifles production, clogs distribution and is a curse to the economy of the province as a whole.

Our railway system should be brought under a single management and should not be subject to the shifts of rival state managements with political axes to grind and domestic interests to serve. Radical reforms are needed as to sleeping accomodation, fares, cleanliness and the necessary amenities for third class passengers. The seats should be broader and softly stuffed. There should be one lavatory for every 15 persons (including children) of nearly the same type and material as those provided for second class passengers. More space is needed for seats as also between opposite rows of seats. The educated middle class, including the mass of public

servants, cannot afford to travel second and naturally wants an order of things which takes account of themselves and seeks to remove the intolerable conditions of travel by the third class. The waiting arrangements at every station should afford shelter and seating accomodation on decent benches for third class passengers.

Of late, there has been some development of maritime services for passengers and goods. But there are frequent complaints about their management. To possess the necessary steamers under an all-Kathiawar management should not be a difficult business for maritime States in confederate action and in conjunction with their subjects. Scholarships should be made freely available and advertised for nautical training. We are much worse off to-day than centuries ago as regards maritime traffic. This has become a first class problem in the country as a whole and sea-girt Kathiawar owes a definite and positive duty in this respect.

It is a matter of regret that conditions have not been brought about in which any central organisation of commercial interests can systematically operate. Production and distribution are going on in blind alleys. A study of our economics is not possible in such conditions. Small as Kathiawar is, for our own purposes it should be treated as an economic unit and we should study it as such through the medium of a commercial body which should collect statistics, maintain a well equipped library and encourage scholarship.

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There is very little of indigenous banking on modern lines but we have got branches of other banks doing business and earning profits while we remain unorganised for purposes of advanced business. There is considerable scope for a real Bank of Kathiawar which can easily be started with a capital of, say, Rs. 50 lacs supplied in equal parts by the States and the public. The States can keep their accounts with this bank as they do with others, deposit surplus balances and in many ways encourage the bank and get profits at the same time. It might well function at Bombay and Rajkot in the first place. The State banks at other places in Kathiawar can gradually be incorporated in this bank as branches. The bank can finance local industry with the help of an experienced directorate.

Similarly we must master the field of insurance and have a Kathiawar Insurance Company, doing business in life, and possibly fire and marine insurance. We daily send large sums of money out of Kathiawar through the agents of Indian and foreign insurance companies. This exodus of wealth must be curtailed to an insignificant amount. The company should have branches in our principal towns in Kathiawar as well as in Bombay and other centres. It can be linked, so to say, with the proposed Bank of Kathiawar by common State representatives working on both the directorates.

Trade unions should be brought freely into independent existence. They should not be controlled by industries nor hampered by the States,

but their growth should serve as a means for conferring social benefits on the workers within the limitations of the financial position of the industries. The position of the States should be similar to that of a court appointing arbitrators and giving final decisions where necessary, in the same way as things are now managed in the Indian Provinces. Measures for the welfare of workers in industrial and commercial concerns require to be brought in a line with those in the Indian Provinces where post-war reforms are bound to accentuate the pace of progress.

The present political leadership of the States, with a diffused and intercutting feudal and jurisdictional background, militates against the economic improvement and industrial expansion of Kathiawar while cross currents make stability itself a point of some concern. This is one of the cardinal points obstructing the integral development of Kathiawar and, though there has been some industrial progress in recent years, we can expect substantial progress in all directions only with the introduction of responsibility in the administrations concerned.

There are at present several cotton mills, two cement factories, two large chemical works, potteries, and match, glass and other factories, situated in different States. Village industries are, however, neglected and require to be attended to systematically. We should make every endeavour to improve agriculture, regulate the produce of raw materials and launch new small industries. It should be noted that the

advancement of agriculture with allied small industries should be our prime concern, as it is essential for the stability the of social structure even more than it is needed as an adjunct of commerce and large scale industry. The problem is whether the initiative will come from within or without, whether the States and the subjects will be able to meet on one platform and adopt progressive methods in agriculture and industry, or whether outside capital, technical skill, and all the invading forces of modern commercialism should be allowed to overtake the province, interpenetrate its social and economic fabric and establish a strangle-hold from which there will only be a remote possibility of extricating ourselves. The beginning of economic engulfment of Kathiawar has already taken place. We must make a serious effort to keep head above water. Outside capital or enterprise should not be rejected. But it should be the definite policy of every enterprise to give preference to local capital upto, say, 60 p. c. Local men should be trained by the industries and given preference in employment. This applies especially to textiles, cement and chemical industries.

Last but not the least are the cottage industries. With the present low educational potential of the people and the paucity of skilled labour, large scale industrialisation cannot go sufficiently forward even in ten years so as to lessen the burden on the land. Home industries alone can impart that stability to society without



which large scale industry, on the basis of private profit, would stand jeopardised. We can no longer afford to fight shy of the problem of maximum employment, in whatever form we attain the purpose with the least possible burden on the society. Taxation taken as a whole is up on the meridian and no further exploitation in that field will give results without corresponding or greater deterioration in other fields. The social problem, therefore, deserves to be tackled with the help of cottage and village industries, co-operative banking and state aid and guarantees in the case of production and distribution of home-made goods. The balance between the cottage, village (small scale) and large scale industries will have to be worked out in the scheme of national planning, but cottage industry should, as far as possible, be kept immune from the attacks of periodical depressions and industrial crises by automatic controls over competitive large scale industries and by adjustment of tariffs.

CHAPTER X

PUBLIC HEALTH.

Public health is exceedingly low throughout India and in Kathiawar it is no better. The main cause is the loss of power of resistance to disease from deficiency of nutrition owing to extreme general poverty. Some of the other important factors are :-

(1) The towns are getting congested and there is no satisfactory improvement. (2) The water supply is very inadequate and not scientifically disinfected. (3) Conservancy and drainage arrangements are very inadequate in every respect. (4) There is heavy taxation on house-building materials. (5) Mass illiteracy is a handicap to the spread of ideas on public health. (6) The milk supply is utterly insufficient.

The larger States have their medical departments and municipalities which are inadequate for looking after public health and sanitation in towns. The villages generally have still less or no benefit of modern facilities for prevention and cure of disease. The public have no effective voice in matters of health nor are they associated with authoritative health activities outside the Red Cross Association. What is, therefore, proposed is a central body for public health in Kathiawar on which the representatives of the States, the Agency and the public could serve together and carry out concerted measures for the whole of Kathiawar. Besides the existence

of an all-Kathiawar organisation for public health, Taluka and District Health Associations should spring up and carry on their activities with state and popular assistance. The States must take the initiative in the present state of affairs.

The District Associations should be formed at the headquarters of the principal States, and Taluka Associations should be formed at the headquarters of Mahals. They may have the following main functions :—

(1) Arranging periodical lectures and exhibitions of slides and cinema films on matters of health and disease.

(2) Health propaganda by means of leaflets and pamphlets to be circulated in every district and its schools and factories.

(3) Looking after local sanitation and allied matters and making suggestions to the public and the authorities.

(4) Celebration of a health week every year.

Barring exceptions which are few, the primary schools in villages are usually a sort of horror from the point of view of general health and cleanliness. The surroundings are seldom clean, the ventilation generally defective and the children dirty, both in body and dress. A peculiar stink pervades most institutions. The accomodation is hardly one half of the standard requirements. The water arrangements are mostly insufficient or even non-existent and what exists is usually insanitary and bad for

health. Nearly one-third of the school children have bad eyes and trachoma is found to exist in numerous cases. In point of bodily constitution, they are as a rule found to be considerably under weight for their height and age; and numerous children are rickety. The bad sitting arrangements are generally the contributory cause of defective postures while dirt and insufficient light are largely responsible for bad eyes. Sweeping in the schools and compounds is rarely done systematically or regularly.

Medical inspections in schools and colleges are wholly wasteful affairs. No real action is taken upon them and no attempt is made to tabulate the results for different institutions; either for public information or for further action by the State authority. There is little sense in a simple annual round of inspection. The indications should be systematically followed up by medical treatment at the cost of the state or compulsory treatment by well-to-do parents.

We urgently require a medical college for Kathiawar, with special classes for training in nursing sanitation, public health and hygiene. Such a school can best be attached to the West Hospital at Rajkot as a central place.

It is understood that an Ayurvedic college is going to be opened at Jamnagar. It would be well if a pharmacy is attached to such an institution and standard drugs prepared, which from cheapness and reliability would serve the needs of the

community, especially in the country-side. It is also suggested that doctors, who have studied allopathy, be enabled, through a short course, to study the principles of the Ayurvedic system and that public lectures be given from time to time on comparative medicine.

We have many books on the Ayurvedic system of treatment but we do require a popular book in Gujarati explaining fully the basic principles of the Ayurvedic system with special reference to the various classes of disease, combining suitably the lines of Moore's Manual of Family Medicine and Hygiene and the Aryabhishak, embodying the results of scientific research in matters of diet and nourishment, and furnishing useful tables of statistics.

We now land on a crucial point which has direct bearing upon the health of the entire community. It should have a pivotal position in any scheme of reconstruction or any consideration of national longevity. It has to be remembered that one of the basic factors in public health is nourishment with its two ancillaries—suitable hours of work and proper remuneration. Agricultural taxes call for special reduction so as to afford an increase of wages to labourers. The struggle for regulating the hours of work should bear in mind the poor physique and the enervating climatic conditions. Labour in the open should be limited to 52 hours a week, in the factory to 46, in the office to 33 ($6 \times 5 = 30 + 3 = 33$), in the schools to 20 ($4 \times 4 = 16 + 2 \times 2 = 20$), and in the colleges to 16 ($4 \times 3 = 12$

+ 2 x 2 = 16). Remuneration should be regulated by certain basic standards, fixing the minimum for every avocation and raising it automatically in certain proportion to the index of prices. The wages should never go below the limits of a family budget for sound health, and should keep up in harmony with the wealth at the apex of the society.'

The problem of public health is connected with other economies, and progress has got to march evenly on all fronts. The different lines of public activities in Kathiawar should flourish as parts of an organic whole, and their direction might well proceed centrally for the whole of Kathiawar, especially in point of planning and coordination of public health activities through a Board of Public Health as suggested before.

CHAPTER XI

PUBLIC SERVICE.

Before the advent of the British in Kathiawar, the administration of the States was a far more dynamic affair than the railroad administrations of the present time. The times produced their own men. Capable and enterprising men distinguished themselves in the control of affairs, aggression as well as defence being parts of the normal function of the States. Revenue, finance and other matters of internal administration were looked after by the advanced classes adapted to that kind of work. The landowners and their men did military duties but later on, mercenaries known as Sibandhis did much of the fighting. The Sibandhis were mostly Arabs and Balochs. The relatives of the Darbars did not usually fill the high departmental posts but held positions of importance in the counsels of the rulers and had more of advisory as distinguished from official functions.

The development of a new polity in course of time pointed to the advisability of removing the bureaucracy which formed the bulwark of the political citadel of Kathiawar. After the first stages of settlement and consolidation, their special utility was no longer felt. More direct contact with the rulers was effected by the political authorities. The diplomatic agents of the States at the Residency gradually sank into the position of routine messen-

gers of business, while the Dewans and Karbharis of the old militant school, daring and faithful to a fault, gradually got replaced by men who had just begun to receive the new type of education. The rulers got encouraged to employ this comparatively pliant type which served as handy instruments both in domestic and external affairs. The unwritten constitution of the earlier times as well as the stern necessities of that troublesome period invested the earlier Dewans and Karbharis of States with a prestige and authority which commanded the respect of the rulers and the ruled alike. There were men of extraordinary and outstanding abilities some of whom were as good as makers of their states. These soon became a matter of the past. Such was the position about the close of the 19th century. It left the Chiefs more consciously to themselves in internal affairs and, gradually but to a considerable extent, dissociated responsibility from administration.

Students of contemporary history are well aware of the currents along which political business has been running since the beginning of this century. The reaction of external affairs and domestic problems on the Indian polity as a whole manifested itself even in this out-of-the-way yellow brand territory. Not only did the States acquire a position of growing importance in Indian affairs but a closer consolidation of interests in the field of public service became increasingly manifest. The educated commoners who followed in the wake of the old bureaucracy—itsself the educated commoners of the

earlier times, were gradually supplanted by men of the landed classes and of particular communities. The whole process was logical and has now almost attained its climax.

The concentration of authority in select classes should be judged from a long range view of its utility and the natural reactions of the situation on the general state of affairs. The Ruling Chiefs are not in a position to control personally all the details of administration; and in the larger States, it is difficult even for trained administrators to exercise effective control without leaving much in the hands of the heads of departments. Merit and variety would here enter as important elements in the day-to-day administration. The neglect of this aspect of public service is, therefore, bound to react unfavourably on the discriminating administrations themselves.

One important feature of public life in Kathiawar was its traditional capacity to produce and keep up men of high calibre and pervasive influence in the political services which were closely linked up with the military and foreign affairs in the pre-British period. Even the 19th century produced some remarkable men. Kathiawar has now lost the instinct for developing and utilising statesmen while Mysore, Baroda and Travancore have fostered this tradition and secured signal results. We have just suffered a diplomatic reverse and lost to Baroda's statesmanship valuable stretches of territory which Vithalrao Damaji, with his remarkable diplomacy and magnificent re-

sources, could not snatch from our veterans of the 18th-cum-19th century. We may now reasonably look forward to the emergence of a strong and effective civil service, with service conditions which can stand the test of modern times. The educational system must be so fashioned as to afford the best equipment for public service, while the services themselves must be so regulated as to afford scope for training in every department of state.

It will be more in the fitness of things to refer to the services in some detail. The judicial services ought to be better paid and should afford scope for rising to the highest position as in Baroda and British India. The time has arrived when the States might create a common legislature and a common High Court for Kathiawar. This far-going measure, if not an essential ingredient of justice and welfare in the conditions of Kathiawar, as I think it emphatically is, is certainly calculated to provide an atmosphere in which the subordinate judiciary would feel more responsible and the entire economy of life pulsate with more of essential ease and freedom. It should prove a very salutary reform and quite a point in practical politics.

The district services are maintained on a scale that has little relation to the requirements of the times. The revenue services are short of qualified hands. Rural reconstruction is almost neglected or attempted in the most elementary manner. The lesser States individually lack the backbone of reform from the poor competence of the executive

and the grave paucity of qualified hands. The principal (1st class) States present greater possibilities of stabilising the village economy by special measures. They do have their own lines of progress in agriculture but they might find it more helpful to appoint a special officer of rank, highly experienced in the present day methods of co-operation and rural welfare. He should have adequate independent powers. He should be able to devote himself mainly to rural development and afford the essential and responsible co-operative link with other departments engaged in carrying out programmes of rural welfare. He can initiate and guide activities for instituting district and village self-government and promote cottage and small industries as a distinct departmental responsibility.

The police service will be dealt with in the next chapter.

Public Health and Medical services are inadequate and poorly equipped in staff and stores. Of education, the less said the better. The school-master is a tragic figure and his utter neglect is reflected in the poor turn-out of our youth, both morally and materially. To neglect him any more would be to expose this keen intellectual force to the influence of insidious movements in remote areas.

Next to land-tax and land tenure, the problem of the services has to be viewed with serious concern. Barring rare exceptions, the services are insufficiently manned, inadequately qualified and terribly underpaid. They are largely an antiquated

business. Enhanced scales of pay should be introduced, especially in the subordinate and lower services. The manner in which these administrative problems are being treated, year after year, lends ample justification to public impatience and fosters bitterness where co-operation is needed.

In all administrations under the new order that is forging, the public services ought to be reorganised in joint deliberation, proper habitations provided, provident funds and insurance introduced and service conditions made consistent with the daily needs and physical attainments of the employees. A common Civil Service Code should be introduced for Kathiawar as a whole and placed on a statutory basis. The services should have liberal leave and pension rules and should be provided with games and sports for recreation. The scales of salaries should not be lower than those in force in the Bombay Province, and there ought to be a periodical and automatic adjustment of pay to the index of prices according to a standard scale.

CHAPTER XII

JUSTICE AND PROTECTION.

The States individually and in groups are appointing High Court Judges of proved worth, partly in fulfillment of a basic requirement of future Federal jurisdiction for courts of first instance in a certain class of cases. (Vide The Indian States and the Indian Federation by Varadarajan, p. 222). But that may be only the beginning of more substantial reforms. The entire judicial service must be thoroughly independent of the executive. We might better have a single High Court for Kathiawar, with judges sitting at different places and controlling the entire judiciary of Kathiawar.

The District Magistrate must be made more responsible for peace and should have a definite voice in police affairs as in British India. Nonentities can never administer anything but chaos and of that we have had more than enough.

It follows that instead of some 60 legislative authorities operating at will and pleasure or at suggestion, we should have one regular legislature for the whole of Kathiawar, with powers reserved to a few local (Salute State entities) legislatures for municipal and other essential purposes. This is important not only for unity of life and society in Kathiawar but to satisfy the basic needs of law and order. Public peace must be reconstructed on an all-Kathiawar basis and not on the simple

requirements of individual States, which have, for over a century, ignored the needs of the province as a whole and left loopholes which have now widened into bridgeheads in the hands of dacoits and outlaws. We cannot have the enemies of law and order perpetually pitching their camps in our midst. Without an all-Kathiawar co-operative police organisation and an expert vigilance branch attached to it, the all-absorbing duty in the matter of security of the subjects will remain clearly unfulfilled. And it is the legislature that can provide all legal sanctions material to such working, from time to time as exigency requires. These arrangements would not materially affect the police and the executive authority of individual States, as the central body would be a co-operative and co-ordinating authority whose sphere can be definitely settled in joint deliberation.

Police ; Instead of characterising its general failure which has now become patent, it is better to suggest remedies for improvement. The recruitment of the policeman and the police officer must lay great emphasis on education and other credentials, and departmental requirements in point of responsibility to the public should go far enough. Civility must take the place of apathy and general disregard.

Complaints against policemen must be investigated in the right spirit and not as points of departmental honour. High officials must undertake the inquiries and be guided by fixed departmental procedure.

Discrimination in appointments, by bringing unqualified men into the service and importing indiscipline in the bargain, has rendered the entire field unworkable. This demands correction.

The heads of the police in the leading States should be of the quality—education, training and experience, of the District Superintendent of Police in British India. Between them and the Police Inspectors must come (one state has not them) an intermediate class of high officers like the Deputy Superintendents in the British and Agency services, with headquarters in the districts and a sufficiency of reserve in force and resources. There might well be two such officers at the headquarters of the States, one for the office and the other for local purposes as well as the neighbouring districts. There should be more police stations too, with really intelligent personnel. The second rate recruitment all over, insufficiency of numbers and maldistribution of strength, taken with the lack of intelligent and well informed central control over the police like that of the Home Member in British India, seem to be generally responsible for repeated disorder and confusion in remote village areas and frequent brigandage all over. The situation in the cities is no less ominous.

A change of jurisdiction every few miles, with undesirable elements in subordinate authority everywhere, is a standing invitation to organised crime and large scale transfers of stolen property. That takes us also to the problem of law and order inside the

consolidated States studded with a variety of 'attached' jurisdictional states. The same questions of pay, personnel and supervision of the police would again raise their head. But this system, as well as the judiciary and jail administration, has got to be perfected and all the three brought in tune with one another. We cannot keep alive any breeding spots of disorder and thus mar the entire security system of Kathiawar. This organic connection of the parts must once more remind us of the interwoven economy of the Kathiawar States and of the need for a central organisation to serve its many requirements.

As already noticed, a central police for the whole of Kathiawar as a co-operative and co-ordinating agency and investigating crime on the lines of the C. I. D. in British India, is very desirable in order to meet the obvious as well as the insidious menaces of the situation. It might as well be entrusted with jurisdiction over the railways in collaboration with the Agency authorities.

Interference with the Press through frequent bans on newspapers is not a very sound feature of our executive arrangements. Authority in Kathiawar, wherever placed, ought to be able to stand the Press, most of which is located in British India and can be squarely faced with the help of the law; that would be more respectable too. For ordinary purposes we might better have a Press Act administered by our High Courts. In grave emergencies instructions can be served to the Press on which action can be taken.

The Arms Act must now be liberalised. The villagers should be freely supplied with fire arms, under due precautions, to enable them to meet the perennial menace of dacoities and blackmail, by establishing voluntary organisations co-operating with the village and the district police.

CHAPTER XIII

POLITICAL RECONSTRUCTION.

A. THE CENTRAL STATE. (a) **The Framework.** The complex feudal order in Kathiawar, with too many interlacing jurisdictions but without efficient machinery or popular control, has proved disastrous to the peace and welfare of the province, and is found wholly inappropriate to the requirements of the present day. The British authorities have now made an arrangement calculated to enlarge the spheres of a few important States by placing the Thana Circles under them and attaching the semi-jurisdictional Talukas to them. In virtue of this scheme, the Baroda State has attained a unique position in Gujarat and Kathiawar. The new arrangement should result in—

- (1) the consolidation of political jurisdiction along geographical lines;
- (2) the enlargement of the spheres of important States so as to increase their revenues and population for practical purposes of a federation with other Indian units;
- (3) the logical development of a Central State in Kathiawar in course of time.

It is a problem how far the legislative functions of the Attached States can be assimilated in the 'Attaching' system. Such a contingency would avoid many technical complexities of modern legislation and would prove congenial to the spirit and

development of the new polity. It is time policy was lifted above local intricacies and relegated largely to the urgent sphere of general co-ordination throughout the province. Any thorough-going political reconstruction would thus postulate the emergence of substantial consolidated or co-operative group-States with a central co-ordinating union at the apex.

The Baroda State is comparatively a progressive economy. Its autocracy is surcharged with a bureaucratic form of government, but has provided a legislature with limited possibilities, a Panchayat system, a reliable judiciary and an equitable land system. It always caters for public improvements and promises a healthier evolution as more legislative controls come into existence. Its extension to places round about its districts in this province should lead to its adopting a definite line appointing, as far as possible, subjects of Kathiawar to service positions in Kathiawar, including those of officers in the defence services and at the ports. An assurance on this point would be most welcome. - I mention this just to ensure that the internal conflicts of the Baroda State are not going to be extended to this province; but no monopoly is suggested. In Kathiawar, these conflicts would at once assume a wide political significance and disturb smooth sailing to the weakening of the total authority of the province.

The position of the Baroda State in Kathiawar is one of peculiar complexity even in other re-

spects. Broadly speaking, it has remained alien to the polity of Kathiawar for well over a century. Its districts formed negligible islands in the maze of Kathiawar States. To-day the Baroda State territories and the States attached to it constitute a substantial area in Kathiawar, which threatens to divide its social and economic life in various ways, unless the Baroda State associates itself and the subjects concerned, with the life of the province as a whole. In fact Baroda's expansion in both Gujarat and Kathiawar calls for a multilateral approach to the new environments, in view of the diversity of the problems of the several areas and their varying urgency, where they are of a similar nature.

Kathiawar has an integral provincial structure with one language and uniform manners and customs. This unity is unfortunately wedged in by numerous diffused administrations enacting their own laws, imposing different kinds of taxes and monopolies and administering different systems of land revenue in the province. Despite these hardships, there is one and indivisible current of social life running beneath this confusing structure of administration, and both the Rulers and the ruled are interested in securing that this current is no longer thwarted by these and other unpropitious conditions such as trade and customs barriers.

For generations Kathiawar has had central institutions for education, trunk roads, medical relief, vaccination, etc. The march of events plainly indicates the ever increasing need for efficient and

co-ordinate governance in all important fields of administration: that is to say, consistently with the obligations to the Paramount Authority, there need ultimately be only one principal body for the whole of Kathiawar, giving law unto all the people and enacting it through a single set of legislatures. The administrative channels may be many but not so numerous as at present. The landed interests from the top to the bottom may be secure; but we should have, through the Central State, a regulated system of land tenures and tariffs (a general code), uniform general legislation, a civil service code, facilities for higher education and research, an ultimate judicial authority (High Court), a co-operative system of internal order and defence and many other points of state economy and public concern. A less homogeneous arrangement will not suffice for purposes of an enduring and balanced economy. Moreover we will have to co-operate with other parts of India in many spheres of activity and this can be done more effectively through the central body and its men. No problem of all-Kathiawar importance can be satisfactorily solved through the medium of groups of States operating unco-ordinated in such a province. In fact the formulation of such a body postulates the assertion of collective state authority in favour of a definite expansion of our economies by bringing down the barriers of trade, tariffs and jurisdiction on the one hand and regularising agriculture, industry and legislation on the other, while establishing the fundamentals of order

and security on the pedestal of a sound, co-operative regime. We would thus be moulding the States into a beneficent mace of power and justice, without depriving any individual consolidated State or group of States of their essential jurisdiction. Such a central body of the States, with popular representatives in the legislative and executive bodies and with responsibility duly shared, would be the proper channel for the operation of any scheme of general reconstruction and would go a great way to satisfy the requirements of co-ordinated progress and of the basic unity of life and culture in this province.

The rearrangement can be made operative by a fairly quick process. The legislation of the States is largely based on British Indian laws. All that would be needed in the first place is to incorporate by slight adjustments the general laws of the land into a common code, abolish the tenancy-at-will and embody the general character of the land revenue system, including the principles of remission and suspension of revenues and those of eviction, into a single convention which would be operative throughout Kathiawar and thus meet one of its most desperate needs. Interstatal tariffs ought to be thoroughly simplified and levelled down at the earliest opportunity, if not abolished altogether.

The Paramount Authority in India would continue to be interested, through its officers, in such matters as may be necessary to implement the

political relations as redefined by the nature and substance of the changes that may be effected.

(b) Spheres of Action.

The sphere of the Central State will be distinct from that of the individual consolidated States. The former will be comparatively a technical and entirely a joint concern. The States will naturally have to recruit the best available men for its administration and it will be in their obvious interest to associate popular representatives in the working of that state. There will be no privy purse of the Central State and therefore nothing to be kept away from the prying eyes of the popular representatives. The evolution of the Central State is of greater importance than the association of the popular elements, however necessary, in its working. The outstanding function would be the laying down of policies and effecting co-ordination in their working. It promises to be a bulwark which can safely encounter the currents of world opinion and afford the guarantees of ordered progress and fundamental human rights.

It will be observed that the Central State would, to a certain extent, be a legislative as well as an administrative body for the whole of Kathiawar, leaving the ordinary jurisdiction in the hands of the individual consolidated States with residual powers of local legislation. Similarly joint institutions for purposes of higher education, scientific research and allied matters would be run by the Central State. More than that, it can operate large

scale financial, commercial and industrial dealings of the province as a whole. The Bank of Kathiawar, the Kathiawar Insurance Company and like institutions of the various interests of this province might emanate or receive support from the Central State. It may issue loans for large projects of road-building, irrigation, water-works, electric works, harbours, ship-building, etc. Further, the Central State can furnish the nucleus of co-ordination for the police of the separate units.

Subject to the provisions of the constitution of the suggested body of the Kathiawar States, the individual consolidated or group-States will have their own constitutions on such lines as the progressive trends of the times may require, and will have scope for reconstruction in all spheres. In all probability, this will be more or less in a line with the principal Indian States. Constitutional reform has been overdue in Kathiawar. Other States have advanced some steps already and we may reasonably expect Kathiawar to fall in line with them without any loss of time on intermediate experiments.

(c) Union with Cutch.

A word about Cutch would not be out of place here. The Jadeja Rulers of Cutch are a branch of the same stock as the Jadeja Chiefs of Kathiawar. Cutch formed part of Saurashtra in earlier days and played its part frequently in the struggles of the 18th century. In the 19th and 20th centuries its relations with Kathiawar mostly

touched boundary and territorial rights. It is a link between Kathiawar and North-Gujarat and has its affinities with Kathiawar. Its polity can be assimilated in that of Kathiawar as a whole. Its defence can form part of a single system of defences along with Kathiawar for guarding this prominent bastion of Western India. Its isolation would be injurious to itself and would leave sore points at the border-line of Cutch and Kathiawar as regards trade, communications and internal order including the control of turbulent elements. The gulf of Cutch would provide excellent facilities for harbour and ship-building and meet most of the needs of Cutch and Kathiawar combined. The political union of Cutch with Kathiawar would make it a stronger entity for all dealings with our neighbours—Sind and Gujarat—a concern of no small significance both in the light of history and of the trends of modern polity.

B. FEDERAL AFFILIATIONS, ETC.

The States of Gujarat present a problem similar to that of Kathiawar. They do not form quite a compact area. They would do so, however, when taken with the neighbouring Gujarati-speaking districts of the Bombay Province. They have common links of language, custom, and social and commercial ties with Kathiawar. Cutch-Kathiawar, the Gujarat States and the Gujarat districts (provincial) can form three sub-units of a single primary federating unit of the Indian Federation whatever the form of that federation may be. It would be

homogeneous and unilingual. The Gujarat States sub-unit can also include the Gujarati-speaking States areas recently linked politically with Rajputana.

A constituent assembly is to be convened after the elections in British India and the question of representation of the States has come to the forefront. At the present stage, negotiations with the leaders are of greater importance than the more formal proceedings of a constituent assembly. However, since representative institutions have come into vogue in most of the important States of India, it would be in the fitness of things if popular representatives of the States find their way to the constituent assembly also, especially because the fate of the people is to be decided through that assembly. Kathiawar would do well to make some such arrangement along with any nominations of official representatives for that purpose.

CHAPTER XIV

CONCLUSION.

Life in Kathiawar has outstepped the bounds of a conservative society and the new outlook is getting democratic. Men of the lower strata of society are receiving higher education while women are swelling the ranks of the *intelligentzia*. There is much free thought in the cities and even the towns are well informed. Nevertheless considerable *lee-wāy* has to be made up all round and necessary steps should be taken in various directions for building up a healthy and balanced society.

As things go, the society requires to be reinforced primarily through education, improvement of public health and, above all, security in rural areas. It can be stabilised by reduction of land-tax and by universal substitution of full occupancy rights for the prevailing tenancy-at-will, both as regards lands used for village site and those used for cultivation. Simultaneously should come improvements in public services – a paramount need, and the introduction of cottage and small industries on a very wide scale. The agricultural economy, when properly directed by a central authority, might well afford a sufficiency of food and of raw materials for cottage and small industries.

All this, with many an ancillary item of coordinated progress in rural and urban economy, postulates the emergence of a new polity in

Kathiawar operating with the help of elected popular representatives throughout. We cannot separate the one from the other; and herein lies the genesis of simultaneous reconstruction of life and polity as the fruitful consummation of an effort towards a better order governing Kathiawar as a whole and suitable for federal alignments with our neighbours.

This new polity is yet in the rather slow, formative stage. On the political side, the Merger Scheme has been the first prolonged stage. On the administrative side, the advent of experienced High Court Judges at certain places cautiously heralds the new development. On the economic side, plans of post-war reconstruction are gradually emerging. But several problems call for complete overhaul of the existing conditions. It is for this reason that committees of inquiry and boards of policies have been suggested under the relevant chapters. Without central planning for Kathiawar, it would hardly be possible to do full justice to the situation.

The extraordinary delay in Kathiawar in introducing representative government is a matter of no small concern. The situation calls for more direct contact with the popular leaders along lines similar to those adopted in British India.

At the same time, we cannot but be alive to the growing possibilities of a broader coordination with the mainland of Gujarat on linguistic and economic considerations and with Rajputana in a more homogeneous Indian States polity. But the substratum of a central body operating within

Kathiawar would even then be necessary, in order to reinforce the unifying currents of social and economic life in this area and answer the internal requirements of the province in the immediate future.

Politics have become a very complicated affair and the youth must prepare himself by special study and apprenticeship before jumping into this field. He should eschew irrational thinking and emotional demonstrations and proceed along lines of constructive activity.

Under all circumstances it is for us, the people of Kathiawar, to work out our destiny in a clean fashion through constructive methods, so as to secure social advance in a unified cultural and economic life and be prepared to play the appropriate role in the polity that may develop from time to time. This should be our ideal and our goal.